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BERLIN: *Why negotiate?* .....(527)

THE GOP: *New hope in the South* .....(527)

DEPRESSED AREAS: *Some say no* .....(528)

CONGRESS: *Coalition revival?* .....(529)

UNESCO: *Half the story* .....(530)

Stand Firm on Berlin: Never has President Kennedy's image proved so popular in Germany, according to well-informed sources in West Germany and Berlin. The US President's strong words in support of the *status quo* in Berlin have greatly enheartened not only the German people but also the Adenauer government, including its diplomatic experts and military.

However, the latter—according to special dispatches from our German correspondents—privately display some concern, not about our young President (who has won their trust) but about his entourage. They wonder about men like Adlai Stevenson and Chester Bowles, and the "anonymous" brain-trusters in the White House. They raise the question as to whether Senator J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.) has the ear of the Chief Executive (see story on page 528).

But principally these insiders in Bonn show some worry about the continued talk in Washington and London about "negotiations" over the matter of Berlin. Kennedy has said that Berlin is not negotiable. Therefore—say our German friends—what do Washington and London want to negotiate?

The general top-level feeling in Bonn—say our correspondents—is that if the US puts a damper on such talk, discourages reports of "flexibility" on Berlin, the West will have Khrushchev "absolutely cold."

Dixie GOP Victory: The election of a Republican to the South Carolina Legislature last week is being assessed as one of the signal events of American political history. Veteran observers agree that it is a greater GOP breakthrough, in some ways, than the Tower victory in Texas.

Charles E. Boineau, the Republican victor, won as a "Goldwater Republican" opposed to the New Frontier. National issues highlighted the campaign; it was no fluke victory due to some local issue.

Boineau, a 37-year-old World War II Navy fighter pilot, won in a county containing Columbia, the State capital, and the State Democratic party pressures applied against him were strong. (Boineau, incidentally, attended the second HUMAN EVENTS Political Action Conference last month in Washington.)

Senator Tower told HUMAN EVENTS: "This South Carolina election lends considerable strength to the belief that Southerners are fed up with the national leadership of the Democratic party, whose left-wing views are alien to the philosophy of Jefferson. It is further manifestation of the conservative trend in our country."

The Titov Threat: Whatever the Titov astronaut feat proved as to the Soviet-US race to the moon—and whatever the propaganda impact it has dealt to the diplomatic crisis over Berlin—it has military implications disturbing to the US, according to military observers in Washington. Specifically, these observers emphasize the weapons race, the race to perfect intercontinental ballistic missiles.

Their thinking runs as follows: Where we have lagged is in the development of rocket machines and fuels to give our space efforts a thrust comparable to what obviously is a very powerful Soviet thrust. The Titov accomplishment proved again that the Soviets possess a much more powerful thrust than we do. This gives them a more accurate and precise aim in directing intercontinental ballistic missiles than we have.

This weapons lead—rather than the lead in the race for the moon—is probably what Hanson Baldwin, military editor of the New York *Times*, meant when last week (August 8) he referred to the "ugly military implications" of the Titov feat.

Simply stated, this is the situation: Because the Soviets, having so much weight power, do not have to be concerned about weight in the construction of ICBM's (or space vehicles), they can therefore build guidance and computing systems within these missiles which tremendously enhance their accuracy and reliability. The US, on the other hand, must constantly miniaturize all of the electronic components in our ICBM guidance systems because our lack of missile thrust makes weight a primary consideration. Consequently, because of this miniaturization, our missiles' electronic components are subject to much more frequent failures. (See HUMAN EVENTS article, "The Mystery of the Missiles Lag," by David S. Teeple, October 28, 1959.)

Today, in Congress, it is felt that the Titov event should force the government to put more urgency into the effort to increase our missile thrust.

It is recalled that almost four years ago Senator Styles Bridges (R.-N.H.)—in an article in HUMAN EVENTS on October 19, 1957—demanded a crash

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program to repair this lag. He proposed a project similar to the famous Manhattan Project which, during World War II, produced the atomic bomb. This was not done. Today, the crash program seems even more vital in view of the Soviet space exploit of last week.

Cuban Policy Proposed: The American Security Council, a 2,900-member group headed by top-flight retired military officers, has just introduced a plan to "strangle Communist expansion in Cuba and Latin America" by blockading shipments to Castro from Communist bloc nations.

The document was prepared by the Council's National Strategy Committee, which includes: Lt. General Edward M. Almond (USA-ret.), Admiral Ben Moreell (USN-ret.), Admiral Arthur Radford (USN-ret.), Admiral Felix B. Stump (USN-ret), Rear Admiral Chester C. Ward (USN-ret.), General A. C. Wedemeyer (USA-ret.) and Loyd Wright, former President of the American Bar Association.

The group proposed that the US designate the Western Hemisphere a "peace zone" and that all Red shipments to Castro be declared contraband. The group concluded that unless the United States uses its "national power" to discourage Red infiltration of the hemisphere through Cuba, the Communists will conquer Latin America, and at an accelerated rate.

Fulbright—Fighting Word: Senator Fulbright has become a controversial figure in West Germany, according to dispatches from HUMAN EVENTS correspondents in Bonn. The bulk of German politicos wax indignant, it seems, about the Senator from Arkansas, charging that he is seriously watering down Kennedy's apparent strong policy against Soviet Russia on the Berlin question. Contrary to the President's line, Fulbright suggested negotiation with Khrushchev to stop the mass exodus of East Germans to the free West.

This Fulbright remark, say the West German anti-Communists, gives the Soviet dictator aid and comfort in keeping up his adamant stand against the Western powers' united front on Berlin; it gives the Kremlin the idea that Fulbright (Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and a Democratic Party wheelhorse) may reflect the actual frame of mind of the Kennedy Administration.

On the other hand, the "liberal," leftist Socialist party in West Germany finds in Fulbright an appealing figure. *Neues Deutschland*, organ of the Socialists, recently praised Fulbright for his "realism."

The Physicians Differ: "How can we stimulate recovery without spending money?," asks JFK (according to the New York *Herald Tribune*). Thus the President (besides betraying his Keynesian thinking) completely ignores the Rx offered by Senator Barry M. Goldwater (R.-Ariz.), who advocates more liberal depreciation allowances to stimulate growth and production.

Writing along the same line as the Arizonan in *Newsweek* (August 14), columnist Henry Hazlitt advocates abolishing all personal income tax rates above 50 per cent, as well as mitigation of the double tax on corporate dividends; making capital gains taxes "more realistic and less one-sided"; and "more generous tax write-offs" for depreciation and new investment. Thus, instead of greater spending and more taxes, Hazlitt urges following a course of "increased capital accumulation, production and economic growth."

Newburgh Aftermath: Representative William Jennings Bryan Dorn (D.-S.C.) has introduced a bill which would allow localities to determine their own welfare policies regarding the Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) program.

Dorn's bill would allow localities to determine whether parents receiving ADC assistance should be required to work for the money they receive, and to impose "such conditions and restrictions upon the right to receive aid to dependent children as it may determine to be advisable and necessary in order to preserve the general welfare and morals of the community or communities involved."

In support of his bill, Dorn pointed to the Newburgh, New York, welfare controversy and then told the House: "This bill is an expression of confidence in local government. It is an expression of confidence in the citizens' ability to administer at the local level and to do what is morally right at the local level. No one is better prepared to administer relief and welfare programs of this nature than those who live with the problems and know the individuals involved."

Paddling the Peace Corps: Sargent Shriver appeared before the House Subcommittee on Manpower Utilization last week to defend the $40 million requested to launch JFK's Peace Corps. Some congressmen questioned not only the amount requested but the advisability of having any Peace Corps.

Chairman James C. Davis (D.-Ga.) questioned Shriver on duplication of the Peace Corps with other government agencies. He cited duplication with the International Cooperation Administration regarding a malaria control program. Davis pointed out that the UN and the Organization of American States also have malaria control programs similar to that which the Peace Corps would launch. It was noted that ICA technicians do the same jobs Peace Corpsmen would do.

Representative August Johansen (R.-Mich.), a member of the Manpower Subcommittee, told HUMAN EVENTS: *"In my judgment the Peace Corps is a bureaucratic dream and a taxpayer's nightmare. I hope we can defeat it when it comes up for a vote, and as far as I'm concerned Shriver wouldn't get a penny."*

Depressed Areas: Protests are now mounting from around the country on the Commerce Depart-

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ment's recent tagging of almost 500 rural counties as either "depressed" or "distressed." Many of the protests are originating from the same areas which have been given this designation by the Department.

Texas Republican Senator John G. Tower noted the labeling of 47 Lone Star counties was done without "prior consultation with or knowledge of business and civic leaders of these counties." Four of the so-called depressed Texas counties—Gregg, Lamar, Angelina and Rusk—have already expressed resentment of their classification to the Commerce Department. Others are expected to follow suit.

Speaking for Smith County, the Tyler *Courier-Times Telegraph* said: "The only thing that distresses us is the fact that our Federal government would be so willing to tap the taxpayers of the nation to give us help that we don't need."

Two Colorado counties, Gilpin and Clear Creek, have notified the Area Redevelopment Administration (ARA) of the Commerce Department that they do not belong on the list of "depressed" areas. The Agriculture Department, working with Commerce, ruled them eligible for aid because the annual income of their farm families was less than 25 per cent of the national average.

A spokesman for the ARA admitted to HUMAN EVENTS, however, that the inclusion of Gilpin and Clear Creek was a mistake. He said they actually have a "very small percentage" of farmers and "their economies are totally pretty good."

Representative David T. Martin (R.-Neb.) also protested the classification of 12 counties in his State as distressed. "I am sure," said Martin, "that it will come as a surprise to the residents to find they are living in a depressed area."

California Education: California taxpayers may not know it, but today they are paying $32,000 a year to a man who in 1948 ran as a Democrat, but sought—and received—the nomination as a candidate for Congress on the Independent Progressive Party slate. The IPP in California is described by the US *Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications* as a party that was "quickly captured by the Communists."

The man is Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, who on April 6 of this year was chosen as the first Chancellor of the State's new college system. The board of trustees which selected Gallagher included Governor Edmund "Pat" Brown and six men appointed by him.

The activities and statements of Gallagher make interesting reading. Among them are the following:

1. The Oakland *Tribune* of February 19, 1945, reported that Dr. Gallagher said in a speech that "it is impossible to live a Christian life under communism as we know it in Russia or under capitalism in the United States";

2. In August, 1948, Dr. Gallagher made a radio address in which he defended Alger Hiss.

Moreover, since his appointment as Chancellor, Dr. Gallagher has come out foursquare against loyalty oaths, and was quoted at a San Diego press conference as saying, "A member of the Communist Party, if invited by a responsible recognized student group, should be permitted to speak."

In addition, the professor feels it's all right for any organization such as "the Young Communist League, or whatever it is," to "operate in the open on campus."

They Disagree: Labor Secretary Arthur Goldberg, in a recorded interview, discounts Teamster President James R. Hoffa as a national threat to the American labor movement—says Hoffa's position has been "somewhat exaggerated by the nation's press."

Robert F. Kennedy (now Attorney General) wrote in his book, *The Enemy Within*, based on his experiences ac Chief Counsel for the Senate Rackets Investigating Committee:

"The Teamsters Union is the most powerful institution in this country aside from the United States Government itself. In many major metropolitan areas the Teamsters control all transportation . . . . Quite literally your life—the life of every person in the United States—is in the hands of Hoffa and his Teamsters."

Kennedy's book was printed in 1960. *Last month Hoffa was re-elected president of the Teamsters during a convention that easily overrode all opposition to him.*

Coalition Revival? The Republican-Dixie coalition, which has floundered upon many occasions during the present session of Congress, may be kneaded together again.

There were manifestations of this last week when the House gave the Administration a severe setback in its effort to establish a Federal nuclear power plant at Hanford, Washington, which would initially cost $95 million.

In an unusual action, the House, with strong Southern support, instructed its delegates to a Senate-House conference committee on the Atomic Energy Commission construction bill to kill any appropriations for the Hanford plant. The action apparently has set aside the project for this year.

JOHN WAYNE, famous Hollywood motion picture actor: "In these days of uncertainty and slanted news from much of the American press, I find HUMAN EVENTS the only continual digest of world and local affairs in which I can have confidence. There may be others, but of this publication I am sure."

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On the Senate side last week there were also strong indications that the Dixiecrats were once more ready to team up with Republicans to defeat large spending bills. Senator Richard B. Russell (D.-Ga.) asked Republicans to defeat proposals now before the Senate Rules Committee to reduce the number of Senators necessary to cut off a filibuster. While he is a Southerner, Russell did not argue that defeat of amendments to Rule 22 was necessary to kill civil rights legislation. He noted that the two civil rights bills that passed the Senate in the last three years were approved without the need to invoke cloture—a cut-off of debate.

What Russell clearly warned was that the chief backers of an amended Rule 22 were "those seeking to change the economy of the country, rather than Negro rights." His pitch, it is believed, was made to reassure Republicans that Southerners would now side with them on economic issues. Republican Senator Tower of Texas is now trying to round up conservatives to side with Southerners on Rule 22. (It is significant to note that Tower attended a caucus of 18 Southern solons last week.)

UNESCO Under Fire: Senator Thomas Dodd declared on the Senate floor recently that the United States should withdraw from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization if it "persists" in its present policy of making charges of racism against the Free World but not against Communist governments.

The Connecticut Democrat, who has supported the UN unit in the past, charged that the October 1960, issue of the UNESCO *Courier* displayed photos of killings in South Africa; riots at Notting Hill in London, Nazi persecution of Jews, and Federal troops escorting Negro students to Little Rock, Arkansas, High School.

> **"Not a word," said Dodd, "was said about the terrible persecution of the minorities, and especially of the Jewish minority in the Soviet Union today."**

While the United States has protested UNESCO's action, its Director General told the State Department that UNESCO would not expose racism in the Soviet Union, since UNESCO's policy is to reveal situations "publicly and officially recognized by the member states" belonging to the UN organization. Since Soviet Russia denies any persecution of minorities, this means UNESCO will continue to tar the Free World with the brush of racism, which is pure gold propaganda for the Communists in the Asian-African nations.

Dodd said if UNESCO continues to follow this policy he will "move . . . that the United States withdraw" from the international organization.

Capitol Camera: Representative Dale Alford (D.-Ark.) has in effect called for Arkansas voters to defeat Senator Fulbright (who runs for re-election next year) because of Fulbright's attacks on right-wing military men. He suggested that voters "undertake to retire from public office, both State and Federal, all those who have been unable or unwilling to initiate and enact measures to defend our people and the states from tyrannical usurpations and to replace them with those who can and will." Observers see the Alford blast as a possible opening shot in an Alford campaign to take the seat from Fulbright next year.

• *Senator Harry F. Byrd (D.-Va.) estimates the true cost to taxpayers of the foreign aid program will be far more than the* $8.8 *billion figure bandied about by the Administration. The cost of floating the bonds to finance the loans, a large part of which do not have to be paid for* 50 *years, will swell the total to nearly* $30 *billion, said the Chairman of the Finance Committee.*

• If the President really means business about cutting off aid to Russia and its satellites, says one legislator, he should withdraw support of the Battle Act Amendment passed by the Senate earlier this year, and which now lies in the House Foreign Affairs Committee. This amendment would allow other countries to enlarge their trade with Eastern European satellites and still receive foreign aid from the United States.

• *Kennedy Administration errors are going home to roost. Fletcher Knebel, capital columnist, is now calling the White House "Casa Boo-boo" (not to be confused with Congo President Joseph Kasavubu).*

• How to pay for increased defense expenses? Senator Andrew F. Schoeppel (R.-Kan.) answers: "The word 'sacrifice' means to give up, to do without, postpone something essential. So, we should give up something non-essential, in order to meet these expenses. We have many, many projects of non-essential programs that could be postponed. It seems to me that in the interest of national solvency, which is also vital to our national defenses, a definite order of priority could or should be established in Federal expenditures, on some of the domestic sides."

• *Representative Edward J. Derwinski (R.-Ill.) says the Administration has obstructed creation of a special captive nations committee. He contends that the proposal has been bottled up in the Rules Committee since March because of Speaker Rayburn, acting on instructions from President Kennedy.*

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The Return Of Senator Claghorn

Florida's Claude Pepper Is Rarin' To Go, Son

By Antoni E. Gollan

MANY YEARS ago radio listeners were entertained by a ficticious character named Senator Claghorn, the personification of the fence-sitting, ebullient, vote-grabbing, "Frens, and you ah mah frens" Southern politician. Unlike most radio characters, however, the resemblance of Senator Claghorn to persons living or dead was hardly coincidental. This writer recently learned from sources close to the creator of the almost legendary figure that Claghorn was specifically patterned after none other than Florida's own enigmatic ex-Senator: ultra-liberal, Soviet apologist Claude Pepper! And now that Pepper is hungrily eyeing one of Florida's newly-gained seats in the House, Capitol Hill may be in for a repeat of the performance from which it thought it had recovered.

Make no mistake about it; Claude Pepper wants to go to Washington. As a matter of fact, he has always wanted to go to Washington. Back in 1911, as a poor ten-year-old Alabama farm boy, he faced a tree and solemnly carved into its bark the words, "Claude Pepper, United States Senator."

At the University of Alabama, Pepper had lost none of the ambition which was to antagonize his senatorial colleagues years later. His zeal undisguised, he sported a black, wide-brim hat and happily bore the nickname "Senator." Following his graduation from the University as a Phi Beta Kappa in 1921, Pepper attended the Harvard Law School for three years, emerging with an LL.B.

With his overriding ambition constantly in mind, he taught for a year at the University of Arkansas, but was not entirely pleased with the prospects for political advancement in that state. Shopping about for greener pastures, Pepper decided to make Florida the *mise en scene* of his political destiny. He moved to Perry, Florida, and began a law practice.

Once in Florida, Pepper moved swiftly. Within three years he was named a member of the state Democratic committee. During the 1928 Presidential campaign, he projected himself into the public eye by stumping for Alfred E. Smith, and the following year Pepper was elected to the state legislature. When his term expired, he chose to remain in Tallahassee, working part-time for the state and resuming his law

Claude Pepper was a principal speaker at a mass rally in Madison Square Garden on September 12, 1946, held under the joint auspices of the Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions and the National Citizens' Political Action Committee. In the photograph above, from left to right, are: Paul Robeson, Claude Pepper (then Democratic Senator from Florida), Mrs. Frederic March (wife of the motion picture star), and Henry A. Wallace (then Secretary of Commerce). The rally was to defeat Thomas E. Dewey for reelection as Governor of New York.

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practice, for which he gained a reputation as a rising young lawyer, "quick, blunt, often ruthless" in the courtroom.

In 1934 Pepper failed in an attempt to unseat Florida's incumbent Senator Park Trammell in the Democratic run-off primary. But he did succeed in outpolling Trammell in populous Dade and Duval Counties, the counties which showed the heaviest voting. Then, in 1936, both Trammell and Senator Duncan U. Fletcher died, and Pepper ran unopposed in seeking election for the remainder of the latter's term.

Thus Claude Pepper journeyed to Washington, as he dreamed he would, and proceeded to chalk up a lackluster, but rigid New Deal voting record. It was during those first two years that he became President Roosevelt's man in the Senate, and was known on Capitol Hill as "F.D.R.'s errand boy." The New York *Herald Tribune* was to observe in 1940: "It has long been suspected that when the White House has an important balloon to send up, it invites Senator Pepper to supply the necessary oratorical helium for the ascension."

IN 1938 Pepper won re-election to the Senate, polling over 50% more votes than his nearest rival, J. Mark Wilcox. During that campaign he appealed to the "po' white" vote, stressing wage-and-hour legislation, lauding the Works Progress Administration (thus garnering the votes of 30,000 WPA workers, their families and friends), and promising support for the radical Townsend Plan, an old-age assistance program from which even F.D.R. shied away.

It was also during the campaign that the first Pepper "legend" arose. Jimmy Roosevelt (F.D.R.'s son, who as a California Congressman has won notoriety by spearheading various Communist-backed drives for the dissolution of the House Committee on Un-American Activities) spoke out for Pepper, proclaiming that Pepper "has been loyal to the Administration and has worked hard for his state, and it is our sincere hope that he will be returned to the Senate." Opponent Wilcox icily responded: "The whole State of Florida is waiting with baited breath to see what stand 'Sistie' and 'Buzzie' will take."

Warmed with the glow of victory, Claude returned to Washington only to discover that he was still vaguely referred to as "that errand boy of Roosevelt's." He was, in fact, so nebulous a Senator that the left-wing *New Republic*—later to clutch Pepper to its bosom—ran an extensive article on the reelection of "Senator George F. Pepper of Florida." Although the *New Republic* may not have known Pepper by name, it did know that "his utterances in the Senate . . . are for the most part simply the voice of Hyde Park in the drawling accents of northwest Florida."

During the pre-war years, Pepper was generally regarded as a "straight-down-the-line Roosevelt-ian internationalist and interventionist." People began to take him somewhat seriously, not always with favorable results. Although he was friendly with several high government officials, some of whom called him "a great liberal," he was highly unpopular with his own senatorial colleagues, one of whom called him "the most dangerous man in the Senate since Huey Long." Claude could have won few popularity contests, chiefly because of his habit of lecturing fellow Senators and because of his ill-disguised devotion to himself. (One veteran observer recalls that "Claude and his psyche made a wonderful couple.") At one point, in May of 1940, he rose on the Senate floor at F.D.R.'s behest to demand all aid short of war to the allies. He was voted down in committee, twelve to one.

A Washington correspondent described Claude Pepper as "an essentially weak man, a talker rather than a doer, a follower rather than a self-starter, a man of more bravado than genuine courage and of more stubbornness than genuine integrity. Humorless, heavy, a self-appointed apostle of Great Causes who is yet ready to compromise these causes for the sake of self advancement, he is the precise type of personality whom liberals would abhor if he happened to be a conservative."

Pepper did his best to live up the above billing, for a moment disappointing a sizeable portion of the Liberal Establishment by bitterly opposing the Federal anti-lynching bill, supporting the "anti-labor" Smith-Connally bill, and for a time refusing to support the proposed Fair Employment Practices Commission.

In his campaign preceding the 1944 Democratic primary, Pepper presented notable indications of his political "courage." An opponent had dug up a photograph of Pepper addressing a Negro meeting in Los Angeles. Pepper countered by striking a racist note, safely 3,000 miles away from the Negroes he had addressed in Los Angeles, by declaring, "The South will allow nothing to impair white supremacy."

As the campaign progressed, Pepper became increasingly aware that he was in trouble; and so did Franklin D. Roosevelt. Pepper's most formidable opponent was youthful Judge J. Ollie Edmunds, who had entered the contest just 57 days before the election, but who led Pepper in nearly every poll. Roosevelt and Pepper, however, hit on a scheme to use the power of the Federal government in order to swing a large bloc of voters: those in the Tampa-St. Petersburg area, who were leaning strongly to Edmunds. (St. Petersburg, "the Haven of the Old," especially those with small pensions, is the state's GOP stronghold. Nearly every office, including county offices, is in the hands of Republicans.)

For a long time the State of Florida had been negotiating with the Gandy Bridge Corporation

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in order to reach a fair price for the Gandy Bridge, a structure which spanned Tampa Bay (connecting Tampa and St. Petersburg) and which required a fifteen cent toll from each automobile. Mere days before the 1944 election, Pepper—at a gathering billed as "nonpolitical" to which all the press were invited—announced, with Roosevelt's blessing, that the Federal government had seized Gandy Bridge "in the name of the war effort." Henceforth, Pepper proclaimed, workers in the war effort would not have to pay a toll while traveling from Tampa to St. Petersburg.

The effect was electric; voters in the area had one man, Claude Pepper, to thank for providing free rides over Gandy Bridge. What was just as obvious to a thinking minority was that the state, without Federal intervention, could have assumed operation of the bridge by using its power of condemnation, by which a price would have been fixed by a jury. But that might have taken a long time. Claude Pepper had no time to lose; election day was drawing near. He wanted condemnation done by the Federal government—even if a large part of the cost would have to be paid by the taxpayers of the 48 states—so he could claim the credit. He did not want the action done by the state—even if then the cost would be paid by the benefiting state alone—or by the two counties benefited.

A Florida Democrat who was intensely involved in the 1944 primary wastes no words in retrospect: "There is no question that the Federal government's intervention on Pepper's behalf won the election for him. As it was, even with the 'purchase' of the Tampa-St. Petersburg vote, Pepper received only 51.3 per cent of the total state-wide vote. But there is a lesson not to be lost on us today: whenever a politically-minded President sees the opportunity to use Federal power in swinging a local election to his liking, he's likely to follow the course exemplified by Roosevelt and Pepper back in 1944."

The Gandy Bridge Corporation sought an injunction on the grounds that Florida had failed to make a reasonable offer for the bridge and that the Federal government was remiss in acting as it did, but a Federal judge hastily denied the plea.

If "the war effort" had been the true motive of the Presidential action, the announcement would have limited the free-of-tolls period to the remainder of the period of hostilites—which would have turned out to be only 18 months—and the toll-free tickets could have been supplied only to defense workers. Cost then would have been relatively limited. But the votes obtained obviously would have been equally limited—not enough to assure Pepper's renomination.

Thanks to this under-the-table maneuvering, Pepper did manage to squeak through the 1944 primary which was labeled a toss-up, and in which he was opposed by a relative unknown. And giving an indication of things to come was the revelation during the campaign that US Communist boss Earl Browder had written that Pepper was one of three men in America whom "liberty-loving people" could mark as a potential friend.

On April 12, 1945, Franklin Roosevelt died; and Claude Pepper was without the man whom he had served and worshipped. Roosevelt's death had a profound effect on Pepper's equilibrium, for, as one witness tells it, "the man who had been his talking marionette in the Senate suddenly found himself with nobody there to pull the strings or provide the words."

If Claude suddenly found himself without a hero, it did not take him long to find another. On September 14, 1945, Pepper was a guest at the Kremlin and enjoyed an hour-long chat with one Josef Stalin. Upon his return to the United States, Pepper enthusiastically described Stalin as "the single most powerful man in the world, the man who is going to determine in a large way what kind of world ours is to be." He blissfully added: "Stalin told me Russia does not want to waste her substance on war or preparation for war, and she is not thinking of aggression upon the nations of the world."

FROM THERE, Pepper proceeded to establish himself as one of Stalin's foremost cheerleaders, speaking at several monster pro-Soviet rallies. On March 20, 1946, Pepper, on the floor of the Senate offered this interesting analysis of Soviet-American relations: ". . . Russia is beset with many fears . . . believing that her philosophy is such that she will never be accepted by nations dominated by cartelists, reactionaries, or Russophobes . . . . Russia's fear is aggravated by her memory of the past . . . . Russia remembers the Red-baiting, the articulated and open conspiracy against her among the major capitalistic powers of the world."

Later that year he wrote a laudatory introduction for a book entitled *The Great Conspiracy Against Russia,* which defended the Moscow purges and maintained that interests in the US were bent on destroying the Soviet Union. This book was co-authored by Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn. The latter has been identified as a Communist in public congressional hearings. Portions of Pepper's flowery introduction read as follows:

"I do not know of a greater contribution which has been made to world peace through better international understanding of Russia . . . than Albert E. Kahn and Michael Sayers have made through their great book . . . this book should be read and studied by all those eager to see peace durably established in the world. This work is required reading for every American and British

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statesman, and, for that matter, required reading for every citizen of both countries . . . . All of us are debtors to Mr. Kahn and Mr. Sayers for their telling us this story containing so much of pathos and tragedy."

Such high praise for a piece of Communist propaganda was at the very least a grave error; but today Pepper refuses to concede even that.

Pepper continued to pursue the Communist line; and he revealed a grandiose scheme designed to allay Soviet "anxieties" about the United States. Demanding that the US confer with the Soviet Union about control of nuclear weapons (at a time when the Kremlin didn't have any), he insisted that we destroy our nuclear arsenal and "bomb factories" first—then negotiate. Simple, wasn't it?

A leading national publication, finally fed up with the Pepper-Stalin marriage, snorted: "The ideas he [Pepper] has expressed on every important issue—from Iran to Spain, from the UN to the atom bomb—have coincided almost as closely with Stalin's views as they once coincided with the views of Franklin D. Roosevelt."

Claude remained unperturbed, and somehow found time to gloat over the Nuremburg trials, which many international lawyers today regard with something less than pride; he even went so far as to encourage the suggestion that one defendant be substituted for another in the middle of a trial.

IN 1948, with the Democratic convention just ahead, Pepper publicly endorsed General Eisenhower. When Eisenhower declined, Pepper turned to the next best man: himself. "This is no gesture," he told newsmen. "This is a fight." His fight didn't get past the first round, so he reconciled himself with the candidacy of Harry Truman, a man who, to put it as charitably as possible, was not one of Pepper's staunchest admirers. All was not immediately lost; the Vice Presidency, proclaimed Pepper, should go to "somebody" who subscribes as completely as possible to the views of Franklin D. Roosevelt." Capitol Hill had no doubt that Claude Pepper had just such a man in mind. The Democratic convention, however, operated on a different wave length that year.

In 1950 Pepper laid aside his thwarted Presidential aspirations to contend with a new challenger for his Senate seat. The challenger was George Smathers, a two-term Congressman and Pepper protege. By this time Pepper's reputation was beginning to catch up with him. Claude tried to clown his way out of trouble, sometimes pulling his coat collar up over his chin, exaggerating his pro-Stalinism in clumsy burlesque, and saying—as though he were speaking to Stalin—"Joe, here's Claude." Democratic voters were not amused, and Smathers captured the 1950 primary by over 60,000 votes.

A true sportsman, Pepper cried that Smathers "stabbed me in the back."

Turned out of office after 14 years in the Senate, Pepper returned to Florida where he didn't make much national news, but entertained Floridians by amply illustrating the observation of his mother: "Claude began to talk when he was nine months old and he's been talking ever since."

By 1958 mere talking had ceased being tolerable. Pepper pitted his fortunes against fellow-Democratic Senator Spessard Holland, and campaigned vigorously—so vigorously that a gas station attendant remarked: "That man reminds me of, oh what's his name, that radio guy, Senator Claghorn." He wasn't, as the saying goes, just pumping petrol.

But again state Democrats were not impressed, and in what observers described as a clear-cut battle between liberalism and conservatism, Holland won a handsome victory. Pepper, however, did succeed in handily winning Dade County (Miami area) and the wheels began turning. One could almost imagine his sidling up to the nearest tree to inscribe, "Claude Pepper, United States *Congressman.*"

Since the 1958 primary, Pepper has discreetly searched high and low for potential votes. A prominent Miami right-winger reveals that Claude has called him up to let him know that "I'm just as conservative as you are."

As a result of the 1960 census Florida has gained four new congressional seats, and no one is more aware of this than Claude Pepper. (See "Politics in Florida," by J. L. and D. D. Wick, in HUMAN EVENTS for December 29, 1960.) It appears quite likely that Pepper will be presented a district, out of Congressman Dante Fascell's present Dade-Monroe territory, in which he can hope to win.

In case Washington is interested, Claude Pepper hasn't changed much over the years. His face is a bit redder, his nose perhaps a little more bulbous, his hair a little thinner; but he still is much the same Claude who inspired the creation of Senator Claghorn, and still much the little boy who once, so many years ago, carved into a tree his heart's desire for all to witness.

And that's no joke, son!

The author of this article, Antoni E. Gollan, is a student at the University of Miami and has been a member of the HUMAN EVENTS editorial staff for two summers.

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What JFK said in 1949

How the Reds 'Conquered' China

Annotated by Dr. Anthony Kubek

The following address was delivered by Representative John F. Kennedy at Salem, Massachusetts, on January 30, 1949. *It assumes particular significance in view of current persistent rumors that we may recognize the Soviet puppet government of Outer Mongolia and support admission of Red China to the United Nations. This strong statement by Mr. Kennedy would lead us to hope that these rumors are irresponsible and unfounded. Except for corrections made in footnotes, Mr. Kennedy's* 1949 *statement is clear, accurate and logical.*

OVER these past few days we have learned the extent of the disasters befalling China and the United States. Our relationship with China since the end of the Second World War has been a tragic one, and it is of the utmost importance that we search out and spotlight those who must bear the responsibility for our present predicament.

When we look at the ease with which the Communists have overthrown the National Government of Chiang Kai-shek, it comes as somewhat of a shock to remember that on November 22, 1941,[1] our Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, handed Ambassador Namuru an ultimatum to the effect that: (1) Government of Japan will withdraw all military, naval, air, and police forces from China and Indochina; (2) the United States and Japan will not support militarily, politically, economically, any government or regime in China other than the National Government of the Republic of China.

It was clearly enunciated that the independence of China and the stability of the National Government was the fundamental object of our Far Eastern policy.

That this and other statements of our policies in the Far East led directly to the attack on Pearl Harbor is well known. And it might be said that we almost knowingly entered into combat with Japan to preserve the independence of China and the countries to the south of it.[2] Contrast this policy which reached its height in 1943 when the United States and Britain agreed at Cairo to liberate China and return to that country at the end of the war Manchuria and all Japanese-held areas, to the confused and vacilating policy which we have followed since that day.

IN 1944 Gen. "Vinegar Joe" Stilwell presented a plan to arm 1,000,000 Chinese Communists, who had been carefully building their resources in preparation for a post-war seizure of power, and with them to capture Shanghai and clear the Yangtze. This plan was supported by some State Department officials, including Ambassador Clarence Gauss. Chiang Kai-shek refused to cooperate with this plan, which would have presented the Chinese Communists with an easy coup. Chiang requested that Stilwell be recalled, which caused such bitter comment in this country; and Gauss resigned. From this date on our relations with the National Government declined.

At the Yalta Conference in 1945 a sick Roosevelt, with the advice of General Marshall and other Chiefs of Staff, gave the Kurile Islands as well as the control of various strategic Chinese ports, such as Port Arthur and Dairen, to the Soviet Union.[3]

According to former Ambassador Bullitt, in *Life* magazine in 1948, "Whatever share of the responsibility was Roosevelt's and whatever share was Marshall's the vital interest of the United States in the independent integrity of China was sacrificed, and the foundation was laid for the present tragic situation in the Far East."

When the armies of Soviet Russia withdrew from Manchuria they left Chinese Communists in control of this area and in possession of great masses of Japanese war material.

1. The date on which Secretary Hull handed the ultimatum to Ambassador Namuru was November 26, 1941. Eight of the ten points of this ultimatum were written by the Soviet agent, Harry Dexter White. War between Japan and the United States had long been an objective of the Soviet Union.

(Dr. Anthony Kubek, head of the Social Science Department at the University of Dallas, is the author of a forthcoming documentary study of the loss of China to the Communists. This book, which is expected to be published next Spring, is the fruit of seven years of painstaking research. It will reveal in clear detail the *modus operandi* of Soviet conquest.)

2. War between Japan and the United States was merely Roosevelt's "back door to war" in Europe. But the war in the Pacific did fulfill commitments Roosevelt made to Prime Minister Churchill at the Atlantic Conference, August 9 to 13, 1941. "To preserve the independence of China" was the pretext, not the reason. Secretary of War Stimson, on the other hand, had long urged war against Japan on behalf of China.

3. The recently published Teheran documents reveal that Roosevelt's concessions to Stalin, at the expense of China, were originally made at Teheran on November 30, 1943. His assurances to Chiang Kai-shek were made exactly a week earlier, on November 23, at Cairo. The agreements at Yalta merely confirmed, elaborated and formalized the concessions made at Teheran. Roosevelt, in November of 1943, was healthy and in full possession of his faculties.

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During this period began the great split in the minds of our diplomats over whether to support the government of Chiang Kai-shek, or force Chiang Kai-shek as the price of our assistance to bring Chinese Communists into his government to form a coalition.

When Ambassador Patrick Hurley resigned in 1945 he stated, "Professional diplomats continuously advised the Chinese Communists that my efforts in preventing the collapse of the National Government did not represent the policy of the United States. The chief opposition to the accomplishment of our mission came from American career diplomats, the embassy at Chungking, and the Chinese and Far Eastern divisions of the State Department."

With the troubled situation in China beginning to loom large in the United States, General Marshall was sent at the request of President Truman as special emissary to China to effect a compromise and to bring about a coalition government.

In Ambassador Bullitt's article in *Life*, he states, and I quote: "In early summer of 1946 in order to force Chiang Kai-shek to take Communists into the Chinese Government, General Marshall had the Department of State refuse to give licenses for export of ammunition to China. Thus from the summer of 1946 to February 1948 not a single shell or a single cartridge was delivered to China for use in its American armament. And in the aviation field Marshall likewise blundered, and as a result of his breaking the American Government's contract to deliver to China planes to maintain eight and one-third air groups, for 3 years no combat or bombing planes were delivered to China—from September 1946 to March 1948.[4] As Marshall himself confessed in February 1948 to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, this "was in effect an embargo on military supplies."

IN 1948 we appropriated $468,000,000 for China, only a fraction of what we were sending to Europe, and out of this $468,000,000 only $125,000,000 was for military purposes. The end was drawing near; the assistance was too little and too late; and the Nationalist Government was engaged in a death struggle with the on-rushing Communist armies.

On November 20, 1948, former Senator D. Worth Clark, who had been sent on a special mission to China by the Senate Committee on Appropriations, in his report to the committee said, "Piecemeal aid will no longer save failing China from communism. It is now an all-out program or none, a fish or cut bait proposition."

Clark said this conclusion was confirmed by Ambassador J. Leighton Stuart and top American Army officers in China.

On November 25, 1948, 3 years too late, the New York *Times* said: "Secretary of State George Marshall said today the United States Government was considering what assistance it could properly give to the Chinese Government in the present critical situation."

On December 21 a *Times* headline was "ECA Administrator Hoffman, after seeing Truman, discloses freezing of $70,000,000 program in China in view of uncertain war situation."

The indifference, if not the contempt, with which the State Department and the President treated the wife of the head of the Nationalist Government, who was then fighting for a free China—Madame Chiang Kai-shek—was the final chapter in this tragic story.

Our policy in China has reaped the whirlwind. The continued insistence that aid would not be forthcoming unless a coalition government with the Communists was formed, was a crippling blow to the National Government. *So concerned were our diplomats and their advisers, the Lattimores and the Fairbanks, with the imperfections of the diplomatic system in China after* 20 *years of war, and the tales of corruption in high places, that they lost sight of our tremendous stake in a non-Communist China.*

THERE were those who claimed, and still claim, that Chinese communism was not really communism at all but merely an advanced agrarian movement which did not take directions from Moscow.

Listen to the words of the Bolton report: "It's doctrines follow those of Lenin and Stalin. Its leaders are Moscow-trained (of 35 leading Chinese Communist political leaders listed in the report, over a half either spent some time or studied in Moscow). Its policies and actions, its strategy and tactics are Communist. The Chinese Communists have followed faithfully every zigzag of the Kremlin's line for a generation."

This is the tragic story of China whose freedom we once fought to preserve. What our young men had saved, our diplomats and our President have frittered away.

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4. As indicated by the dates, the duration of the embargo was about a year and a half, not three years as indicated in the quote. Before the embargo, the Nationalist forces were thrashing the Communists. The embargo turned victory into defeat.

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Freeman Buys 4.5 Million Acre Phantom

From Battle Line

WITH TYPICAL New Frontier efficiency, Orville Freeman's Agriculture Department has "lost" 4½ million acres of land and the fiasco will cost the taxpayers $150 million.

Under the 1961 Feed Grains Act, Freeman paid farmers $680 million to reduce corn acreage by 20,090,511 acres in 1961.

FREEMAN

Recently, however, the Department reported that only 15,379,000 acres had been retired.

The Department, therefore, paid for 4½ million acres which either never existed or never were planted in corn anyway.

In explaining the deal to the Senate, Senator John Williams (R.-Del.) compared the transaction to the standard joke about slickers selling the Brooklyn Bridge. "But at least there *was* a bridge," the Senator commented.

The Republican fiscal watchdog explained the phantom acres scandal this way:

"Under the 1961 Feed Grains Act he (Freeman) has paid $680 million to farmers in return for an agreement that they will reduce their 1961 crop acreage by 20,090,511 acres below their average 1959 and 1960 acreage, but based upon the Department of Agriculture's crop report just released this week, while the Secretary has paid for the retirement of over 20 million acres of corn-producing land from this year's production, he has actually obtained a reduction of only 15,379,000 acres.

"Thus we find that the Secretary of Agriculture has paid approximately $150 million to retire from the production of corn about 4½ million acres of crop land which either did not exist or never would have been planted in corn anyway.

"The Department of Agriculture's crop report showed that in 1959 and 1960 the planted corn acreage for all purposes in those years was 82,742,000 acres for 1959 and 81,434,000 acres in 1960, or an average for the two years of 82,088,000.

"Under the Feed Grains Act of 1961, the Department has approved contracts under which direct payments to the farmers will aggregate $680 million in return for their agreement to reduce their corn acreage below their average 1959 and 1960 crops by 20,090,511 acres.

"This should have brought the July, 1961, crop estimates of planted corn acreage down to approximately 62 million acres. Instead, however, the official crop report released July 7, 1961, by the Department of Agriculture gives the estimate of the planted acreage of corn for 1961 as only being reduced to 66,619,000 acres.

"The Department has a very plausible explanation of this variation. To justify its figures, it merely released under date of June 21, 1961, a revised estimate for 1961 planted acreage showing an estimated base corn acreage of 87,047,500, or about 5 million acres higher than their other report.

"This may make the figures balance, but it does not change the fact that in 1959 and 1960 the planted corn acreage was 82 million and 81,400,000 respectively. The government paid $680 million to get a reduction of 20 million acres in this production of corn for 1961, but, based upon its most recent report, the Department still estimates the 1961 corn production to be 66,619,000 acres.

"The government paid for a 20-million-acre reduction and got a reduction of a little over 15 million acres. No matter how the reports are juggled, the answer is the same.

"Approximately $150 million has been paid to retire 4½ million phantom acres from 1961 corn production.

"To show the magnitude of this $150 million blunder I point out that these 4½ millions of phantom acres represent an area larger than the combined total of all the harvested cropland (corn acreage as well as acreage of all other types of crops) in the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware and West Virginia.

"Not only does the Feed Grains Act of 1961 represent a multimillion dollar waste of the taxpayers' money but also it has created a speculators' paradise. Furthermore, it has actually hurt the American farmers as the Secretary attempted first to bribe the farmers to reduce their plantings and then force the American farmers under the bureaucratic umbrella by manipulating the grain markets in such a manner as to break the market."

This incident is just one small part of the farm program which candidate Kennedy on October 13, 1960, said "will cost a billion and a half, possibly two billion dollars less than the present agricultural program."

Voters' Oversight

There remains the one standard that has not yet been universally used, namely, the choosing of candidates on moral grounds. A nation always gets the kind of politicians it deserves. When our moral standards are different, our legislation will be different.

Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen.

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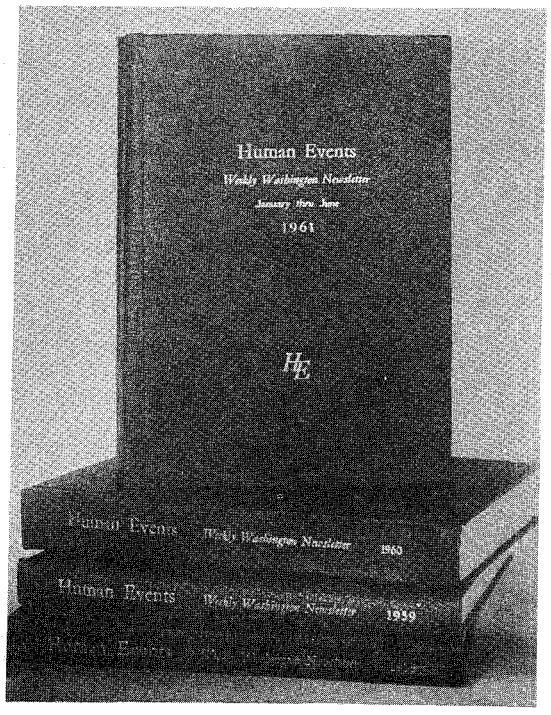

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--- COMMENTARY ---

Federal aid is just like a man getting a blood transfusion by taking the blood out of his right arm, putting it in his left, and spilling about half of it on the way over.

—Congressman A. Sydney Herlong, Jr. (D.-Fla.)

Vol. XVIII, No. 33 — Section V August 18, 1961

'He Kept Us Out of War'

By Paul Harvey

There's another message in the sound of the tom-toms.

President Kennedy will run for re-election in 1964 on the campaign slogan, "He kept us out of war!"

And FDR proved that's potent vote bait.

The current crisis in Berlin has been exaggerated all out of proportion to the specific threat.

Berlin is not an acute crisis, it is a chronic crisis.

A former NATO Commander, General Alfred M. Gruenther, calls West Berlin "a gallstone in the Soviet bladder." He says the Berlin situation now is no more serious than any of several he encountered as NATO Chief during the 1950s.

Bernard Baruch said, "America has all the resources to do all the things that need to be done in the Berlin situation. There is no reason to get excited about it."

Yet our President's July 25 fireside chat, alluding to air raid shelters stockpiled with food and first aid supplies, certainly did get a lot of people excited. Increased draft calls, increased callup of reserves, increased stockpiling of non-nuclear weapons—all these measures further excited our citizenry to the "imminence" of a war which is, in fact, not at all imminent.

If we were contemplating war with Russia, then nuclear testing would be resumed forthwith. Our accelerated military buildup would be concentrated in modern weapons of mass destruction and annihilation. A foot-soldier war against the limitless hordes of Asia, we cannot possibly win.

If our missile potential and our nuclear stockpile are already adequate, then masses of marching men are even more meaningless.

Except that they afford an easy solution to our unemployment problem.

And massive spending for conventional weapons is a hypo to many segments of our industry.

BLUFFING, OR JUST PLAIN CRAZY?

Government by crisis is not new. President Kennedy's advisors did not invent it. He is not the first to make use of it, nor will he be the last.

But it is well if we, the people, understand the why of much government regimentation.

I am not saying the Russians are no threat. This column was warning of the true nature of the Soviet conspiracy and its plan for world conquest through terms of three Presidents preceding this one. I am for all-out preparedness, but of that kind that will strengthen us, not weaken us.

Only the "big bomb" can keep the Red bear at bay. Our 7 per cent of this planet's population could not possibly provide enough "manpower" to do it. I believe that is why our God-fearing American fraction was entrusted first with nuclear power ---not for our destruction, but for our deliverance.

But the GOP will be bucking a strong headwind if, in 1964, the Kennedy campaigners can point to reduced draft calls, peak employment, high stock market, then clinch the campaign with the dramatic claim: "He kept us out of war!"

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A Hamilton Revolutionist

BY POTOMACUS

PRESIDENT NKRUMAH of Ghana expresses a certain impatience with people who say his underdeveloped ex-colonial country leans toward the Khrushchev side in the cold war. "We are anti-colonialists," he insists; "it is very unfair to be accused of being Communist on the basis of anti-colonialism. I think anti-colonialism was invented by the United States of America . . . ."

Sure it was, but men who talk about the American Revolution as the first anti-colonial push in history aren't always clear about just what kind of anti-colonialism it was—and what kind of revolution.

Sometimes, to be specific, they show little familiarity with the economic views of that famous anti-colonialist and revolutionary, the late Alexander Hamilton. Yet it was Hamilton who steered the young Republic in the first large-scale development of an underdeveloped ex-colony in history.

To start with, said Hamilton, "an adequate provision for the support of the public credit is a matter of high importance to the honor and prosperity of the United States . . . By what means is it to be effected? The ready answer to [this] question is by good faith; by a punctual performance of contracts. States, like individuals who observe their engagements are respected and trusted, while the reverse is the fate of those who pursue an opposite conduct . . . ."

The basic contract entered into by the young Republic was, of course, the new Constitution itself of which Hamilton was one of the main supporters. He pointed out that "the Constitution of the United States happily gives . . . additional security to property . . ." As for economic development, "If the United States observe, with delicate caution, the maxims of credit, as well toward foreigners as their own citizens, in connection with the general principles of an upright, stable and systematic administration, the strong attractions which they present to foreign capital will be likely to insure them the command of as much as they want, in addition to their own, for every species of internal amelioration . . . ."

That, as the subsequent growth record shows, is precisely the way things worked out. Not only did the United States guarantee the property rights of loyal citizens and friendly foreigners, it even paid off Tories whose property it had confiscated during the Revolutionary War. Under Hamilton's guidance, it organized a strong and freely convertible currency based on gold, so that investors could get their earnings out of the country without difficulty —and their principal, too, if they wanted to.

Neither Hamilton nor any other of the American originals ever whined that the world owed America a living in a style to which it had never been accustomed, simply because it had dreamed up some "rising expectations" for itself. Not once did the United States threaten to commit national suicide (the 18th Century equivalent of going Communist) if foreign investors didn't come across —and pronto —on terms laid down not by the lender but by the borrower!

In short, had the question ever been put to him (or any of his colleagues, not excepting Mr. Jefferson), Hamilton would have described himself not just as an anti-colonialist, not just as a revolutionist, but as a vehemently pro-property anti-colonialist or, in modern terms, a vigorously anti-Communist revolutionary.

I've had my ear cocked for months, but so far there hasn't been one peep like that from Mr. Nkrumah.

Congressman Barry's Taped Interview—$7

Robert R. Barry, second term Republican from New York's twenty-seventh district—composed of Putnam and Westchester Counties—is the guest on this week's Congressional Interview. Mr. Barry, who was elected to the 86th Congress by an unprecedented majority for his district in a gubernatorial year, discusses the proposed plans for reform of the Electoral College. He describes the dangers of one proposal, and the virtues of another.

BARRY

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Public Housing

By Congressman A. Sydney Herlong, Jr. (D.-Fla.)

Now I believe in charity and I want to help those people who can't help themselves, but there are many, many people living in public housing units throughout the United States who are making more money than thousands of you are, and yet you are having to pay $35 a month on their rent. That's not charity—that's a shakedown, and I don't think you and the next generation of taxpayers ought to have to continue to bear this heavy burden.

We have a liberal, low down payment regular housing program insured through the Federal Housing Administration. If the people who don't belong in public housing and yet who live in it would show enough initiative to go out and make arrangements to get themselves homes they could call their own, they could buy them for just about what they are paying in rent on a public housing unit, but many of them who can afford to get out and do this for themselves prefer to stay in these units and be pampered by the government.

You know, you can pamper a part of your body, such as your arm, by not using it or exercising it for a period of time and it will atrophy, or wither and become useless. I wonder if the government, through these pampering projects, isn't doing that to the character of a lot of our people. In their desire to help those who can't help themselves, and believe me I want to do that too, they get over into the field of helping those who will vote for them in the next election whether they are in real need or not.

I am more concerned with what this type of program is doing to the moral fiber of many of our people than I am with the dollars these programs cost.

ONE CROP THAT HASN'T OVERPRODUCED

Backdoor Spending

If the Administration gets the backdoor approach to foreign aid, the control will never return to Congress. It is frankly admitted by the witnesses from the Executive Branch that the commitments will have been made before the Congress receives information as to what countries or what projects or what programs are to receive the money.

—Congressman Otto E. Passman (D.-La.)

Calculated Coincidence?

By Congressman Frank T. Bow (R.-Ohio)

Can it be more than a mere coincidence that Mr. Khrushchev, like his predecessor Stalin, rattles the saber each year about the time that Congress is considering foreign aid spending bills? If the Kremlin leaders are as sly and clever as they are said to be, they must know that these annual crises have the effect of increasing our spending program, adding to the public debt of the United States, and perpetuating the terrific tax burden we bear.

Lenin spoke of the zigzags of Communist policy and the necessity of keeping capitalist nations off balance. Is it about time we decided upon our own programs, in relation to what we wish to do, rather than continue to react defensively to every Soviet thrust and parry?

Aiding the Enemy

By Congressman Paul Findley (R.-Ill.)

On July 12, the acting premier of Communist Poland praised US "technical and economic cooperation." And why not? He was speaking at the opening of a new $2.5 million dollar steel-galvanizing production line, the gift of American taxpayers to the Communists.

In April the same man had led an anti-American rally in Poland.

The Commerce Department recently lifted a long-standing ban on the sale to Communist nations of farm products subsidized by US taxpayers.

With one hand, the American taxpayer donates a new manufacturing plant to the Communists and helps to feed them. With the other, he spends $43 billion a year for arms to combat Communism.

Why do we fight the Communists with one hand and help them with the other?

We are told that all the misfortunes of Sparta were occasioned by their too great solicitude for present tranquility, and by an excessive love of peace they neglected the means of making it sure and lasting.

—Abigail Adams

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Goldwater Asks Army About General Walker

The following two letters were inserted in the Congressional Record *by Senator Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.), July 31, after which he initiated a discussion about them:*

The Honorable Robert S. McNamara,
Secretary of Defense,
Department of Defense,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

This is to advise you that I have received the statement from the Department of the Army indicating that action has been taken to admonish Major General Edwin A. Walker.

In the past I have contacted the Department several times on this matter and was advised that the situation was being studied and when a decision was rendered I would be apprised. The statement which has been furnished to me by the Office of Legislative Liaison, Department of the Army, is most general in nature. It fails to point out what the controversial activities were and, as a matter of fact, I found much more information on this matter in the Washington newspapers.

I am again asking you to review this matter for me, and I want to know and, in fact, my constituents demand this, information on just what the general's derogatory remarks were and just what prominent Americans have been allegedly slandered.

Also, in connection with this matter it has been called to my attention that a paper called the *Overseas Weekly*, which is an irresponsible tabloid, had a great deal to do with instigating charges against the general. I want to know what part this paper's charges played in connection with the decision to censure General Walker.

Sincerely,

Barry Goldwater

Dear Barry:

The Secretary of Defense has asked me to reply to your request for further information about the case of Major General Edwin A. Walker.

The April 16, 1961, issue of the *Overseas Weekly*, a newspaper published in Germany primarily for circulation among Americans living in Europe, carried an article alleging that General Walker on January 24, 1960, in a speech made to a group of some 200 PTA members at an American-operated school at Augsburg, Germany, referred to former President Harry S. Truman, former Secretary of State Dean Acheson, and Eleanor Roosevelt as "definitely pink." It was also alleged that General Walker had stated that Edward R. Murrow, former CBS radio official, now Director of the US Information Agency; Columnist Walter Lippmann; and Columnist and Commentator Eric Sevareid are "confirmed Communists," and that 60 per cent of the American press and radio-TV industry are Communist controlled.

The very thorough and comprehensive investigation which was conducted under the direction of General Bruce C. Clarke, Commander in Chief, US Army, Europe, disclosed that on January 24, 1960, at Augsburg, Germany, General Walker addressed a group of approximately 200 officers, their wives, and service-connected civilians at the Centerville Elementary School. Attendance was entirely voluntary and the subject of the speech was General Walker's views on communism and its infiltration in the American way of life. No substantial evidence was revealed that General Walker had referred to former President Harry S. Truman, Dean Acheson, and Eleanor Roosevelt as "definitely pink," as alleged by the *Overseas Weekly*, but it was established that he had stated or inferred that these prominent persons are leftist-influenced or affiliated.

It was also established that General Walker had mentioned Edward R. Murrow, Walter Cronkhite, and Eric Sevareid as being leftist or Communist-influenced commentators; and that he had stated that 60 per cent of the American press and the radio-TV industry were Communist-influenced, not Communist controlled, as alleged by the *Overseas Weekly*. The investigation also revealed that General Walker's strong anti-Communist feeling frequently led his talks to become heated and intense with the use of excessively strong language. He had previously been cautioned by his superiors on at least three occasions to refrain from language of this nature.

As stated by General Clarke, General Walker's sincerity of purpose was not questioned, but his actions exceeded the limits of propriety for an Army officer.

I trust this information will be of assistance to you.

Sincerely yours,

Elvis J. Stahr, Jr.
Secretary of the Army

Said Senator Goldwater: "The letter from Secretary of the Army Stahr is almost a complete refutation of the charges made against General Walker, pointing out that he did not say these things . . .

"I know that the American people, from the very beginning of their attempts to form a government, have historically carried over from England a fear that the military might become stronger than the civilians. But I suggest that we have built in adequate safeguards against that, and those safeguards never have been overridden, and there never have been attempts to override them.

"Yet today we find that a commanding general of the US Army must go through miles and miles of red tape—to such an extent that finally he and others in similar positions become discouraged and give up in their very proper and patriotic attempts to have the men under them informed of the nature of the Communist menace that is attempting to destroy the United States.

"If the scouts of the New Frontier are so frightened that they want to hide behind their squaws' skirts, then I think the chief should get rid of them in a hurry, so that the American people can be told by everyone who understands the enemy—including the military who understand the enemy—what the nature of the enemy is."

Then Senator Strom Thurmond (D.-S.C.) added:

"I wish to say that a great many of our officers are now beginning to feel the heat of this new policy. Some of them have talked to me; and they are beginning to wonder how far they can go, and whether they should go a little soft on this question or not. But such thoughts should never enter the mind of a military man of our country. However, what can one expect when such directives are issued, prohibiting the showing of the film "Operation Abolition," a motion picture which reveals before one's very eyes the communism that is arising in this country, communism at work in this country—and communism as it has occurred in other countries—and as it actually occurred in San Francisco, California. I was there, and I saw it in person, with my own eyes; and after that I stated that I only wished that every American could have been in San Francisco and could have seen what I saw there. It reminded me of a bunch of howling wolves—to see these Communists and Communist-led people, with thwarted minds, and misled people —college professors, students, and others being led by Communists and being sucked into that movement, going along and committing the acts they did, in protest against the very fine and patriotic work of the House Committee on Un-American Activities."

On August 1, Senator John G. Tower (R.-Texas) inserted in the Congressional Record *a copy of a resolution adopted by the Texas Senate which urges reinstatement of General Walker as commander of the 24th Infantry Division*:

Whereas Major General E. A. (Ted) Walker, former commander of the 24th Infantry Division in Germany, is a native of Center Point, Kerr County, Texas, where his mother and brother still reside; and

Whereas General Walker has had a brilliant Army career and is a graduate of West Point and commanded the 2nd Division Artillery at Heartbreak Ridge in the Korean war where this division fired a record of 22,000 rounds every 24 hours for 14 consecutive days, and General Walker was also in Anzio and Cassino operations of World War II; and

Whereas General Walker has proved his undying and unshakeable loyalty to his beloved United States of America and has always conducted himself as a true, loyal American; and

Whereas the Defense Department in Washington has relieved him of his command because of charges brought by the owners of the *Overseas Weekly*, a Delaware corporation, which publication has been accused of anti-American leanings: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate of the State of Texas go on record as giving its unqualified support to the reinstatement of General Walker as commander of the 24th Infantry Division in Germany and that the Defense Department in Washington make known the results of its investigation of General Walker and so reinstate him.

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Automation Increases Jobs

By Edwin McDowell

Editorial Writer, the Arizona Republic

IN the not too distant future, handwritten messages will be transmitted over telephone lines for the same price as a telephone call. Some classrooms will have a machine for a teacher—one which questions students, corrects mistakes, and adjusts its pace to the individual pupil. Supermarket customers will be escorted from their cars to the store on a moving sidewalk which will carry them from display to display.

Each of these inventions is an early possibility, thanks to the exploding new field of automatic processes and machines called automation. These machines range in complexity from the common household thermostat ("feedback control"), to the automobile assembly line ("Detroit automation"), to the mathematical wizards capable of thousands of calculations a second ("computer technology"), but each has as its goal the easier and faster completion of functions that might otherwise have been impossible.

Concern over automation has never been greater than right now. In fact, when Secretary of Labor Goldberg established an Office of Automation and Manpower late in April, to retrain and find employment for workers displaced by technological advancements, it marked the first official federal government move in the field of automation.

The word "automation" was first used by management consultant John Diebold, in 1955, when he shortened the word "automatization" coined nine years earlier by Ford executive Delmar S. Harder. However, it would be a mistake to assume that, because the word itself is relatively new, the concept of automation is also new. The successful search for new and easier methods dates back to the Persian wheel of Egypt and to the Archimedian screw—a simple mechanical device for raising water. But James Watt's steam engine, patented in 1769, is generally considered to have been the first truly automatic process. In this simple invention, a fly-ball governor was used to insure a constant steam feed under any load.

In time, other labor saving devices appeared, but it wasn't until Henry Ford instituted the five dollar day—thanks to the use of an ingenious energy-saving device called the assembly line, in which the machine was brought to the man instead of *vice versa*—that the search for automatic processes took on special meaning. If automobiles could be produced at the unbelievable rate of two million a year, it was asked, was there *any* limit to man's productive capacity?

With the end of the Second World War, the post-war scarcity of labor and increased consumer spending necessitated even newer and more efficient methods. In addition, some employers saw automation as an effective antidote to strikes, pensions, fringe benefits, and coffee breaks, and they were willing to invest more money in automation research than they otherwise might have been.

TODAY, the investment has burst into fruition. Automated machines slice, weigh, and package meats, and stuff and link hot dogs and sausage. Bakeries turn out 10,000 loaves of bread an hour, with the entire process—mixing, fermenting, cutting, shaping, and cooking—done solely by machines. In concrete plants, the automated marvels produce and load into ready-mix trucks any one of some 1,500 different ready-to-use mixing formulas. Automated machines, unerringly selecting ingredients and figuring quantities, turn out 2,500 gallons of ice cream an hour. And automated farm machines pick 100 tons of tomatoes a day, at a 25-30 per cent saving over tomatoes picked by manual labor.

There is little these mechanical wizards can't do. An American Airlines memory device instantly answers questions about flight reservations on an average of 35,000 times a day. At Ford Motor Co.'s Cleveland plant, 48 workers using automated methods complete an engine block in less than twenty minutes. (Formerly, it required 400 workers and 40 minutes to complete the process.) In Detroit's Plymouth engine plant, a transmatic engine assembly machine and two cylinder head assembly machines transfer work through 198 stations, add parts and sub-assemblies, and complete 150 engines each hour. In Albuquerque, New Mexico, an automated radio station (with a staff of four) has proved so successful that the owners are launching a 24-hour FM station. Thanks also to automation, the glass blower who annually enthralled school assemblies with demonstrations of his skill is all but obsolete. Today, 19 glass blowing machines produce 90 per cent of the glass light bulbs used in the United States, and all the glass tubes used in radio and television sets (except for the TV picture tube).

Even in medicine, automation is making impressive inroads. Automated devices are being used to catch sounds beyond the human ear's capability. Accelerometers record the amount of tremor in a patient, which helps in the diagnosis and treatment of Parkinson's disease. A "kidney cooler" preserves the kidney function when the blood supply is interrupted, allowing at least twice the former amount

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of time for an operation and reducing the blood loss and the amount of blood present in the area of the operation. And stapling devices have been developed to connect severed blood vessels with stainless steel staples.

There is scarcely a major industry that is not, in some manner, affected by automation. Banks are a prize example. During the past 15 years, checking accounts in the United States have doubled to more than 50 million annually, requiring that most of the nation's 600,000 banking employees be kept busy processing checks. Each of the 13 billion annual checks (expected to reach 27 billion by 1970) must be posted, tabulated, or sorted one to ten times before it returns to its starting point, involving a vast time-consuming operation. Today, however, 20 per cent of the nation's checks are processed by computers which sort at the rate of 1,500 a minute. These same machines also prepare customers' statements at the rate of 2,500 an hour.

Insurance companies have also been quick to recognize the benefits of automation. Just recently, a computer prepared an industry-wide mortality table in three months, one-eighth the time required to compile the previous table 10 years earlier. New York Life Insurance Company uses an electronic computer to figure premiums and dividends for its $20 billion in individual policies, and to type reminder notices to customers. John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company uses computers to prepare its payroll for 5,000 home office employees.

Computers—which have grown almost overnight to a $1.5 billion industry, and of which 4,400 are currently in use—have a fantastic variety of uses, in addition to those already mentioned. At Cape Canaveral, satellite-tracking computers make 42,000 mathematical calculations a second; a New Jersey utility company's scanner keeps records of customers' accounts and compiles 7,200 bill stubs an hour; a computer at Georgetown University translates foreign languages into English; at a Naval experimental airfield, computers print important up-to-the-minute flight data on "flight strips" for pilots and they also calculate which flights can be expected over successive check points at a particular time; in Phoenix, a computer issues weather warnings to pilots who dial a certain number.

Industry and finance have also found computers invaluable. A New York investment company uses an electronic computer to help it project earnings of some 200 utilities four years into the future. (The computer accomplishes in a matter of minutes what previously required statisticians two days to do.) IBM, which produces an average of one computer a day, recently devised a data transmission unit which links by telephone the "memories" of many computers, automatically correcting reading and writing errors, as well as errors in transmission. Armstrong Cork Co. uses a medium-sized computer to determine gross payroll, deductions, and net pay for 3,000 employees at its Lancaster, Penna. plant, thereby doing in eight hours what formerly required 225 man-hours to complete.

Even sports are not immune from the versatile machines. Electronic starting gates and power-driven golf buggies have long been used in place of the starting gun and the burdened-down caddy, and one football coach a few years back even used an IBM Univac to rate player performance in determining his starting lineup for each game. But automation didn't really come in to its own in sports until the Spring of 1960 when the Baltimore Orioles acquired an automated pitcher for $360. Nicknamed Eddie, the strong-armed rookie pitched 54 half innings in inter-squad games, during which time he walked only one batter and wound up with a phenomenal 1.67 earned run average—far better, even, than teammate Hoyt Wilhelm's 2.19 era, which led the American League the previous year. (When Eddie finally succumbed to a sore arm, the Oriole management simply unscrewed it and replaced it with a new one costing $36.83.)

During practice sessions, St. Louis Cardinal coaches use sawed-off shotgun-like gadgets, utilizing compressed air, to shoot long flies, line drives, and pop-ups to weary outfielders. Horse race fans at 176 racetracks throughout the U.S., Mexico and Canada are, or soon will be, using automated betting machines that "read" the denominations of bills up to $20, and return to bettors their exact money's worth in win, place, or show tickets. And, for the introverted athlete who tires of solitaire, a robot table tennis partner that always returns the ball at an unpredictable angle has been developed by a New York company.

But the cruelest blow of all to sports fans was the announcement last summer of the invention (by a Long Island engineer) of an automatic umpire with an unerring eye for the strike zone. The "ump" is three television cameras which determine whether the ball passes over the plate at the proper height; in addition, three cameras placed in the stands at different angles can be focused on each base to show whether or not a runner is safe. The adoption of this invention may (as some fans insist) dehumanize the game by obviating the impassioned demand to murder the ump, but it will undoubtedly go a long way toward correcting the human factor in baseball decisions.

Government has so far found a number of uses for automation. The Treasury Department uses an automatic check-writing machine to turn out 80,000 checks a day. The Post Office Department uses automation to sort, cancel, and stamp mail, and to dispense change at some post office branches. The Census Bureau uses Univacs, operating around the clock, to compile statistics, at an enormous saving to taxpayers.

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Except for automation, our nation's defense would have improved relatively little since the end of World War II. Our radar defense system would have been impossible without the elements produced and designed through automation, and as International Labor Organization Director, General David A. Morse observed, atomic energy research and the construction of the nuclear reactor would also have been impossible.

The advantages of automation are many. Machines, unlike humans, never become careless or bored. Furthermore, they can select and reject with greater precision than the best human inspectors, and—in the case of food and medicines particularly—are far more sanitary. But the biggest advantages are in reduced prices and increased wages made possible by increased production and consumption. Between 1913 and 1955, the average hourly earnings of factory employees in the U.S. increased by 746 per cent while the average price of manufactured goods increased by 132 per cent. The difference is largely accounted for by technological progress, without which the price rise might have equalled the wage rise.

NEVERTHELESS, like everything else, automation has its limitations. In the first place, in order to be profitable, many automated factories must be run on a round-the-clock basis. Too, it is extremely expensive, and, in some industries, almost prohibitive. (The larger computers, for example, cost between $1-1½ million.) Moreover, automation is not a sure guarantee that a product will be cheaper. The Plymouth motor company, for example, found that it was more economical to lay crankshafts in the car engine by hand, rather than by using a mechanical device.

Understandably, automation can never entirely replace those industries that require special attention to detail which only a hand craftsman can give. Handmade patchwork quilts, tailored men's suits, and hand-knitted sweaters seem unlikely to be replaced by automated progress. And, as Sir Henry Cohen, Liverpool University professor, noted, wherever judgment or taste are concerned, the human brain is indispensable. The 75,000 tubes found in the largest computers, he said, are no match for the millions of nerve cells of the human brain.

The biggest problem facing the future of automation is the attitude of union members toward the introduction of labor saving machinery. Unquestionably, many leaders and rank-and-file members are concerned lest automation mean the loss of jobs, or the disappearance of a particular industry. When United Auto Workers chief Walter Reuther was being escorted through an automated automobile plant, a company executive chided Reuther, saying he would have a tough time collecting dues from all those machines. That's not what bothered him, the UAW president retorted. What he wanted to know was, who would be able to buy the automobiles being produced by the machines?

Reuther's answer was a wisecrack which indicated his colossal ignorance of economics. There are numberless products or services which once cost large sums because of the vast amount of labor required which today cost next to nothing because the labor per unit now called for is infinitesimal. Examples: the transmission of letters and messages which once was done by pony courier; the copying of the Bible which required an entire lifetime of a monk; and a thousand other products which Reuther can see in the nearest ten cent store, drug store, or supermarket.

The point which Reuther cannot understand is that if the cost of a motor car—taking into consideration every factor from raw materials to distribution—is no more than the equivalent of one, two or ten men's labor, it will sell for that price plus the profit potential necessary to induce its manufacture.

The next element is the fact that, as of now and the foreseeable future, only an estimated 20 per cent of the economy, containing about 8% of the labor force, is suitable for automation. (It's ironic that labor unions are currently having constructed a computer which will mathematically sort and evaluate some 50,000 labor decisions, arbitrations, and precedents in order to decide how best to approach bargaining sessions.)

There is no doubt that automation causes unemployment in particular industries. Reuther has estimated that in his industry alone, already more than 150,000 jobs have been lost during the past decade; AFL-CIO official Nat Goldfinger has said that 2,900,000 jobs have been eliminated by the electronic marvels. Other unions, however, like the Amalgamated Lithographers of America, believe automation will boost their membership by giving them an edge in jurisdictional clashes with other unions, largely because of the new processes (such as multi-color presses and electronic color cameras).

The results of case studies support the view that labor-saving machinery creates new jobs and new opportunities, rather than causes unemployment. As an example, the Department of Labor lists 13 new occupations resulting from the growth of the computers field alone. And in a study undertaken by that same department—involving an insurance company using a computer, an airline using an automatic reservation system, a group of offices using electronic equipment, a mechanized bakery, and a modern petroleum refinery—it found that layoffs were negligible even though the machines affected a total of 3,906 jobs. Moreover, the study found that the introduction of the new machines upgraded workers and increased wages.

ON May of 1960, the *New York Times* reported on a Monthly Labor Review study showing that of some twenty central offices where electronic computers had been installed, more than half the employees remained in the same positions after more

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than a year of operation. About one-third who were displaced by machines were assigned to other positions in the same office, and, all together, only nine persons were laid off.

The list could go on and on. When Commonwealth Edison reduced its billing force requirements by 200 men, no one was laid off. When National Biscuit closed two antiquated bakeries and built an automated one, employment subsequently rose by one-third.

In the Bell Telephone System, although dial phones are used throughout about 94 per cent of the system, there are today nearly 85,000 more operators than in 1920. (It is interesting to note that had the system been prevented from installing dial telephones, in the interest of preserving jobs, it has been estimated that today it would require every single girl between the ages of 18-30 in the United States and Canada to handle the annual number of calls.)

Reporting to a Congressional committee, a National Association of Manufacturers spokesman observed that if technical progress really resulted in unemployment, as is often claimed, the U.S. would have had some 40 million unemployed in 1955, because in the latter year, it was possible to produce goods generally with about two-fifths as much labor per unit as in 1910.

For the man who suddenly finds himself unemployed thanks to automation, particularly after he has spent a lifetime learning a skill which becomes obsolete almost overnight, the effect can be calamitous. But almost all corporations have been more than generous in working to ameliorate this problem. Freihofer Bakery, for example, has used increased profits from automation to allow workers to retire at age 65, or earlier. Armour & Co. has set up a two-year "automation fund," financed at a cost of one cent for every hundred-weight of meat products shipped. Limited to $500,000, this fund will be used to cushion whatever unemployment may result from automation, and to enable a nine-man committee to study long range problems of automation.

When International Harvester decided to close its Auburn, N.Y. plant not long ago, in order to move into an automated one, it paid pensions and severance pay to many workers, and turned its industrial relations office into an employment agency. (As a final goodwill gesture, in an effort to attract other industry to Auburn, it sold the plant to the city for one dollar.) When Martin Aircraft's contracts fell off, and with it, the jobs of its workers, the company set up a night school in an unoccupied plant. Each evening, some 50 unemployed workers attended a 2½ hour course in mathematical theory, blueprint reading, schematics, and basic electronics, assimilating new technological skills for jobs in Martin's expanding electronics and missile division. Campbell Soup Co. signed a somewhat similar agreement with a California Teamsters Union, promising to finance the cost of retraining workers displaced by automation.

One of the most ambitious—and, at the same time, most worrisome—settlements was that reached in October 1960 between West Coast shippers (Pacific Maritime Association) and the International Longshoremen's Union. Under terms of that agreement, employers will contribute about $5 million annually, over a five-and-a-half-year period, to indemnify workers for lost job opportunities arising from automation. In addition, the settlement assures the dock workers there will be no layoffs, guarantees minimum weekly wages, early retirement, plus additional death and disability benefits. (Already the pact has come under attack from some ILWU leaders, who claim that $5 million is not enough money for what the union is surrendering). The union, on the other hand, has approved the elimination of "featherbedding" ("make-work" practices). This is similar to a $450,000 settlement recently obtained by the Hawaiian longshoremen, guaranteeing much the same rights.

Union demands of this nature, extracted even before savings from automation are definitely known, could seriously retard automation, and thereby cripple our nation's economy. For if the economy is to provide the required more than one million new jobs annually, it must be allowed to adapt itself freely to new and more efficient innovations.

It wasn't so many years ago that the late CIO president, Philip Murray, told a labor convention, "I do not know of a single, solitary instance where a great technological gain has taken place in the United States of America that it has actually thrown people out of work . . . ." Not only that, but as a Congressional committee concluded, after studying the effects of automation, "an improved level of living for all cannot be achieved by a blind defense of the *status quo*."

It is just such a blind defense of the *status quo* by those who refuse to accept the realities of a space age economy, that seriously threatens to shackle industry, and innovation. What they must realize is that everywhere in the Twentieth Century economy, the old order is rapidly giving way to the new.

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